

MCU / Tipiṭaka Studies. 2001

## Evolution of Pali Buddhist Literature - A Historical Study

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This subject deals with an area which is essentially religious. The word Pali, coupled with the word literature, covers a somewhat extensive area, covering both the religious and the secular. This leads us to see within it not only the semi-religious chronicles of a historical nature like the multi-charactered **Vaṃsa** literature of Sri Lanka [Dīpavaṃsa, Mahāvāṃsa, Dhātuvāṃsa, Mahābodhivaṃsa to name a few], but also quite a few productions of ornate literary style.

However the main concern of this course of studies would be the examination of the religious literature in Pali which belongs to that tradition of Buddhism which has presently come to be called the Theravada. That would primarily centre round the teachings of Gotama, the Buddha who is more appropriately called Shakyamuni or the Sage of the Shakyan clan. Today, all three major divisions of Buddhism, namely the Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna choose to call him by that name.

Being religious in origin, this vast body of literature has acquired, over the centuries, both **an inspiring religious sanctity with a glittering halo around it** [much more in the literary traditions of the Mahāyāna]. Note the position which the **Lotus Sutra** acquired in Japan, particularly under the patronage of **Prince Shotoku Tai Shi**, in the chant **Namo myo ho ren ge kyo**, and **an unquestionable authority and authenticity about its contents**. Therefore it is a very fascinating area to work in. [This is the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*].

But our search, examination and study in the field is admittedly going to be an academic one, with all due respect and reservation. Historical methods like

**sensitivity to chronological stratification of texts and traditions in literature** have to be adopted. **Evidence in proof of whatever we say and believe in has to be meticulously sought. Myths and legends have to be carefully sorted out,** ungrudgingly giving due credit to each segment.

Therefore the participants are required, this being a Graduate School Course, to get used to checking on the authenticity of little bits of information they have hitherto collected from printed texts as well as verbal discussions and present them for more critical examination at the weekly seminars so generously provided. This is expected to form the solid basis for a sound tradition of unassailable religious studies at the Mahachulalongkorn.



MCU- MAH-OR MA.II

## **First signs of the Mahayana on the soil of early Indian Theravada**

### **Note 1**

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As we scan the Indian horizon for the first signs of the emergence of what in later centuries blossomed and bore fruit **as the Mahayana, within the larger total concept of Buddhism**, we would do well to take a preliminary look both at **i.** the pre-Buddhist Indian religious background which made the Buddha Gotama or Sakyamuni **express many brave new ideas, challenging the heirarchical Indian religious thinking** of the Vedic tradition [which includes the Vedas, Brahmanas and the Upanishads] as well as **ii.** Gotama's own new explanations and interpretations to the human phenomenon in the world [both its disastrous predicament as well as the release therefrom which is in the hand of man

himself.].

Write down the ages, from the very early beginnings, the Indian [Vedic] tradition was invariably **theo-centric** [whether Brahma concept was personal as Brahmā or impersonal as Brahman in the neuter.]. As such, the Creator of the Universe was legitimately required to **bestow upon his creation a relative degree of grace**, a greater or lesser, dependent on the woeshipper [compare the Upanishadic position *dhātuh prasādāt mahimāmānaṃ ātmanah*].

On the other hand, as reported in the Raṭṭhapāla Sutta [MN.] the Buddha is said to have unquestionably refuted this position under his **four Dhammuddesā** when he declared *attāṇo loko anabhissaro*. = That **i.** the world of man is without a refuge where one could go for succour and that **ii.** there exist no super lord, who from outside, guide the destinies of the world.



## Tutorial Assignments: MCU M.A. Program [June 2001]

1. Early Buddhism displays a considerably large Dhamma concept of an unmistakable monolithic character. Discuss the historical circumstances which led to such a situation.
2. In early Buddhist literary narratives the two following statements go hand in hand regarding the Buddha's missionary activity.
  - i. So dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ ....
  - ii. brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti. Expalin, in terms of the religious ideology, the need for their interconnectedness.

3. Discuss the historical justification for the natural division into Dhamma and Vinaya [or Sutta and Vinaya], by the Buddha himself, of the early Buddhist teachings.
4. The appearance of the monastic ideal in early Buddhism is a natural outcome of the uncompromising honesty in the Buddha's delivery of his religious message.
5. As a report of the recital of the Vinaya by the Thera Upali at the First Council - Pañcasatī - which of the two statements below would you consider as being adequately comprehensive? Make a clear distinction between the Vibhaṅgas and the Khandhakas.
  - i. Etena upāyena ubhato vinaye pucchi.
  - ii. Etena upāyena ubhato vibhaṅge pucchi. Vin. II. 284

Cullavagga records the proceedings of the First Council [*Pañcasatī*] as

- i. *Etena upāyena ubhato Vinaye* [Thai & Myanmar *uhato vibhaṅge*] pucchi.
- ii. *Etena upāyena pañca nikāye pucchi*.

Discuss the historical implications of these statements.

6. *Te ca tepitakā bhikkhu pañcanekāyikā pi ca catunekāyikā c 'eva Nāgasenaṃ purakkharuṃ.* Milindapañha.

Examine the importance of this stanza for a historical study of the evolution of early Buddhist Pali literature.

7. *Yāva tiṭṭhanti saddhammā saṅghaṃ na vinassati tāvatā sāsanaaddhānṃ ciraṃ tiṭṭhati satthuno.*

Examine this statement of the Sri Lankan Chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa* and discuss the extent of its awareness of Sāsana history.



## Tutorial Assignments: MCU M.A. Program [August 2001]

### Theravāda and Mahāyāna

1. A dispassionate study of the Lotus Sutra [Saddharmapuṇḍarīka] which is believed to be of post-Christian era origin reveals, in relation to the original Theravāda and the subsequent Mahāyāna, a drift from historical realities to realms of religious phantasy.
2. The growth of the Mahayana reveals three distinct strata which indicate movement in three clearly discernible directions –
  - i. response to popular demands,
  - ii. growth of complicated ritualism and monastic institutions, i.e. cultic practices etc.,
  - iii. over-sophisticated development of theoretical analysis of points of super-sonic doctrine, i.e. Mahāyāna philosophy.
3. How far does the theoretical acceptance by the Mahāyāna of early Buddhist doctrines become a practical reality in their religious system? Attempt an honest analysis of the position.
4. Examine the Mahāyāna concepts of *karuṇā* and *prajñā* and relate them to the early Theravāda teachings, both in terms of their content and magnitude.
5. While the early Theravāda continues on a very high note of individualism [*pratyātmikīṃ nirvūti kalpayāmahh*] both with regard to the goal it aspires to attain and the method of attaining it, the Mahāyāna can well afford to leave

them in the hands of another and look forward to a common pool of bliss in their liberation.

6. Attempt a historical scanning of the change of character of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from Kuan Yin to Kuan Shih Yin and his transition from a male to a female divinity.
7. Clearly define the character of *bodhisatta* in pre-Jātaka early Pali literature on the one hand and in the Jātakas on the other, and the entirely new development of the character in the Mahāyāna.
8. In the Mahāyāna presentation of the Trikāya doctrine, there is an ingenious integration of their concept of Cosmic Truth or Dharmakāya with the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, with the Celestial Grandeur of the Western Paradise thrown in between the two with Sukhāvatī. Discuss, indicating clearly the interplay of history and legend in religion.



## **M.A.II - Notes on the origin of the Early Theravada thinking - 01**

### **Basic assumptions of early Theravada teachings of Shakya-muni or Buddha Gotama.**

1. It is claimed that there is an eternality in this Buddhist way of thinking [*Porāṇaṃ maggaṃ porāṇaṃ aṅgasaṃ pubbakehi isīhi anuyātaṃ*. SN.II.105]. Hence the Buddhist teachings being referred to as the Eternal Law [*esa dhammo sanātano*]. Do not make the mistake here, as good many scholars have done before, of identifying Buddhist teachings as a reclamation or continuation of the ancient Indian religious thinking.

*Porāṇaṃ añjasam* referred to here unmistakably refers to the way of **the previous Buddhas of the past**, specially the six from Vipassi to Kassapa known both to the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the Dīgha ṅikāya and the Theragāthā [*..tenañjasena agamāsi Gotamo*. Thag. v. 490]. Emperor Asoka, within two centuries, seems to have taken them as historical personalities. Note his memorial pillars for Buddhas Krakucanda and Kaṇakamuni.

It is also worth recording here how the **Mahayana tradition** upholds, **in its totality, this belief of the Theravadins** in a **list of six previous Buddhas** prior to Gotama, as recorded in the Mahāpadāna Sutta quoted above. In the **Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra** of the Mahayanists, the Tathāgata, i.e. Shakyamuni or Buddha Gotama, is seen making a statement like this: [Also note that **Pūrṇa** referred to here is none other than **Puṇṇa Mantāniputta** of our **earlier Pali sources**. They even enlarge the legend further, by referring to a distant past, **to a time ninety-nine Buddhas**.

'Ye monks, see this disciple, Pūrṇa, son of Maitrāyaṇī, whom I have distinguished as the foremost of of preachers in this assembly... For I remember, monks, that in the past, in the times of the ninety-nine Buddhas, the same Pūrṇa kept the true law under the mastership of those Buddhas... He was also, monks, the foremost among the preachers of the law under the seven Tathāgatas, the first of whom is Vipasyin and the seventh myself.'

-Sacred Books of the East Vol. 21. Ch. VIII p.192 f.

2. Let us attempt to discover Buddhism's primary pattern of thinking, specially in view of the more or less **theo-centric background of pre-Buddhist Indian thinking**, from the Vedas down to the Upanishads - with Brahmā or Brahman [Time period of Buddhism's origin is roughly from about 6th century B.C]. Buddhism is essentially **anthropocentric**.

We have evidence of this self-discovery already noticeable, even in the hands of the Bodhisatta, i.e. Buddha aspirant, \*\* very much prior to his

Enlightenment [*Pubbe ' va me abhisambodhā anabhisambuddhassa Bodhisattass ' eva sato etadahosi*. SN. II.5].

- A. This constituted essentially **the extra sensitive observations** by the Bodhisatta, prior to his enlightenment, about the **true and real nature of human life in the world** - that there was incessant **change** or **transience** i.e. ***anicca*** [Skt. ***anitya***]. i. This naturally led to the observation that life in the world was **not a product in the hands of a creator** [***issara*** as in ***issara-nimmāna-vāda***]. According to the Buddhist way of thinking, life in the world may more correctly be termed a product of an on going evolutionary process. ii. that the law of change or transiency [***anicca*** or ***vipariṇāma***] seen as being inherent in it, impersonally gives to Buddhist thinking the **religiously valuable quality of unsatisfactoriness** [***dukkha***],

The **process of Samsaric continuance** is due to the worldling being unable to view his life process correctly and align himself accordingly. Hence the eternal conflict in the human life process, both physically and mentally, with the **reality** of the world. Out of this emerges the fundamental Buddhist concept of ***duke***. That humans are out of step with the world they live in. This is the basis of the primary doctrine of ***tilakkhaṇa*** in Buddhism.

- B. While still a Bodhisatta, Gotama felt the need, both for himself and the world, to probe in search of a way of getting out of this ***dukkha*** of the world. This he called ***nissaraṇa*** or **moving away from**. Nothing short of this satisfied Gotama as his goal as is clear from his rejection of the offers made to him by both his erstwhile teachers **Ālāra Kālāma** and **Uddaka Rāmaputta** who were able to take him as far as the highest reaches of the Arūpī Jhānas.
- C. Hence anything below the total release in Nirvana comes to be downgraded as deviant. Compare the relative assessment of sagga as given at MN.I.142 Alagaddūpama Sutta. Those who get no further in



their spiritual upgrading than the basic development of the quality of trusting in the Master and in consequence of it, developing only a further degree of emotional attachment to the Master, are said to reach never higher than being born in the heavenly worldly worlds: *Yesam mayi saddhāmatam pemamattam sabbe te saggaparāyanā.*



## MCU - VIN. June - July 2001 01

In Buddhism, the primary philosophy of Gotama necessarily concerns itself with the two basic items of **Samsāra** and **Nirvāna**. He declares that this is his avowed mission to **postulate and clarify to the world the concept** of *dukkha* [*dukkhañ ca aham paññāpemi* MN] and to **make known** the *nirodha* or **cessation thereof** [*dukkhassa ca nirodham* ibid.]. Let us take an example from the highly developed science and technology in the world today. For example, for earth-bound objects to get into outer space, the law of gravity had to be conquered. Sufficient power for this had to be generated. It is indeed a good thing that a falling apple baffled Isaac Newton.

Apparently, Newton and everybody else around him were not distressed by that very common place phenomenon of objects or material released at a higher level dropped or found their way to a lower level. [It would be relevant here to mention that it was this self same observation of the natural phenomenon of the movement from a higher to a lower level - *thalato ninnaṃ āgataṃ*, which our Theri **Paṭācārā** said about the water with which she washed her own feet at eventide before retiring to bed, which stirred **Paṭācārā** in her pursuit of her transcendental wisdom [Thig. v.]

With Gotama too, what baffled him, through his very keen observation of what was going on all around him in the world of humans, that humans are

inextricably bonded to the **cyclical continuance** of the **samsāric process**, of being caught up in birth, decay, disease and death and that **the process is being continually repeated, over and over again**, with complete circular patterns, almost ring-like, as in a coil spring, larger or smaller depending on the quality of birth one is entitled to. In this process, each circular process every time represents a complete life-duration, short or long as it may be. Let it be said here and now, that it is the Buddhist view that both the quality of life and life expectancy, in every single state of existence, are to a greater degree determined by the pressure of one's own karmic activity - *yathā + kamma + upage satte*.

It must be adequately emphasized here that it would be erroneous according to early Buddhist teachings to present **Samsāra as a circle**, with its two extremities welded together to form the ring. A circle is static while Samsāra immediately implies dynamism as in phrases like *sandhāvati saṃsarati* and *vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati*. Gotama's concept of release of humans in Nirvāna lay well outside Samsāra. It is the ending of one that begets the other. Both Samsāra and Nirvāna are personal phenomena in the lives of individuals. They do not exist apart from the person. Nor can Samsāra and Nirvāna, according to early Buddhist teachings, they co-exist.

Once Gotama correctly discovered these forces at work, he identified them as i. man's ignorance of the nature of the very life process in which he is trapped [*avijjā*] and ii. the craving or the thirsting for, i.e. the desire to cling on to it [*taṇhā*] which results from this ignorance [*anamataggā 'yaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro avijjā - nīvaraṇānaṃ sattānaṃ taṇhā - saṃyojanānaṃ*].



**MUC Tripiṭaka Studies Lectures - MA. I**

**To be used as a supplement**

## MCU. 000 601 Tripiṭaka studies

### [Evolution and development of Pali Buddhist literature with relevant quotations] June 2001. p.1

In Pali Buddhist literature, the **central teaching of the Buddha** is referred to under the name of **Dhamma**. The Buddha himself in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta [MN. I. 160 - 175] refers to his **self-discovered Truth** [*sayam abhiññāya*] as dhamma, as against revelations Divinely handed down or *sruti* of Indian religions. Note such Pali references which speak of the Buddha's Dhamma as *Kicchena me adhigataṃ halan ' dāni pakāsituṃ* = **This Dhamma which I have comprehended with great difficulty, it is no use preaching it to others** as well as *rāgadosaparetehi nāyaṃ dhammo susambudho* = **This Dhamma is not easily understood by those who are overwhelmed by greed and hatred**. MN. I.168 & Vin.I.5. Also as *Adhigato kho my ' āyaṃ dhammo* = **This Dhamma has been mastered by me** at MN. I. 167 & Vin. I. 4. That the word Dhamma is used for teachings of other religious orders is also evident and is conceded in the Pali texts. - *Pāturahosi Magadhesu pubbe dhammo asuddho samalehi cintito* = **In the land of the Magadhans there appeared in the past a form of Dhamma which was not pure and was thought out by those with defilements**. [MN. I. 168 & Vin. I. 5].

This self-discovery of the Dhamma by the Buddha was no easy task, as he himself says [*kicchena me adhigataṃ* = attained to with great difficulty]. This Dhamma is the answer to the **ills of life** or *dukkha* which the Buddha discovered, prompted while he was still a *bodhisatta* or Buddha aspirant, which he thought was menacing the world [*kiccham vatā ' yaṃ loko āpanno jāyati ca jīyati ca mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati ca* = This world is plunged in distress in that there is in it birth, decay, death, passing away from one existence to another and being born again. SN. II.5]. This basic observation of the true nature of the world, and a quest for a release therefrom, **while still a Bodhisatta**, well and truly **anticipates the genesis** of the **Four Noble Truths**.

Even after a bit of evident reluctance to preach his dhamma to **a world which was temperamentally polarised** [the world being **naturally inclined towards greed and hatred** [*rāgadosaparetehi nāyaṃ dhammo susambudho*. MN. I.168 & Vin.I.5.] and the Dhamma, on the other hand, advocating, for the purpose of salvation, **a policy of love and renunciation**, he is said to have preached the Dhamma for the benefit of the more mature discerning few [*santi sattā apparajakkha-jātikā* = There are beings with less dust in their eyes].

This Dhamma truly analyses the real nature of the world and indicates the way out of it.. This is what the Buddha, in his admonitions, preaches to the world, he often admits: ***Pubbe c' āhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi ca dudukkhañ ca paññāpemi dukkhassa ca nirodhaṃ*** = O monks, in the past as well as now, I preach the unsatisfactoriness of the human predicament and the termination or cessation of that condition. MN. I. 140]. In this early teaching, the Dhamma displayed **an impressive monolithic character**, i.e. a singleness of character. Note the **continuous follow up of this outlook** both as **Bodhisatta** and **Buddha**.

So the first item in the life of Gotama as the Enlightened One or ***Sambuddho***, at the age of 35, was to **set rolling the wheel of the law** [*dharmacakkaṃ pavattetuṃ*]. This is said to be the official **First Sermon**, delivered at the Deer Park in Saranath in Benares [*Bārāṇasiyaṃ Isipatane migadāye dharmacakkaṃ pavattitaṃ appativattiyaṃ samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devene vā mārena vā ...*]. It is recorded that the devas of the entire world system declared on that occasion that **that message of the Buddha is irreversible, is never to be challenged by any one in the world, human or divine - deva, māra or brahma**. The truths thereof cannot be reversed ***Taṃ na tathā iti puna paṭivattetuṃ na sakkā - Paṭisambhidāmagga Aṭṭhakathā***.



## MCU. 000 601 Tripiṭaka studies - MA. I. [evolution and development of Pali Buddhist literature with relevant quotations.] June 2001

Most current ideas in the academic world today about history of Pali Buddhist literature are built upon traditions which we gather from those around us and our immediate past.

But reckoning with the fact that the history of Buddhism stretches over a period of more than 25 centuries, it is extremely important that we resort to a method of historical stratification of these traditions, and view them with an awareness of historical perspectives.

From a basis of facts in history, which may even be elementary, there begins the growth and expansion of traditions, which sometimes are both accurate and justifiable. At other times, the need to **accommodate**, to **reconcile** and **even distort real events**, seems to **become necessary** in order to **contain within one tradition** [which must necessarily be homogeneous] **many divergent** and **even contradictory points of view**.

**A.** In our study of the history of Pali Buddhist literature, we go on the assumption that the earliest reference to this subject which can be taken as being of Canonical antiquity is the report on the First Buddhist Council [*pañcasati*] which occurs at **Cullavagga Ch. XI. [Vin.II.284 ff.]**. The Great Commentator Buddhaghosa gives this report due credit by saying that it possesses Canonical authenticity: *tantim ārūhā* which means being included in the Canon, namely in the Vinaya Piṭaka [*Paṭhama-mahā-saṅgīti-nāma 'esā kiñcāpi vinaya-piṭake tantim ārūhā*. DA. I. p.2. §. 2].

Note what this report says about **the motivation for the convening** of this First Council and **the scope and content of its activities**. There was the **need to identify**

the main teachings of the Buddha [Dhamma], leaving no room for any deliberate deflections and distortions [*pure adhammo dippati dhammo paṭibāhīyati*] and to understand without any ambiguity the Buddha's endeavour, through the Vinaya, to make a success of it by establishing a *saṅgha* or a body of sincere and devout followers.

1. Handa mayaṃ āvuso **dhammañ ca vinayañ ca saṅgāyāma pure adhammo dippati dhammo paṭibāhīyati avinayo dippati vinayo paṭibāhīyati** pure adhammavādino balavanto honti dhammavādino dubbalā honti avinayavādino balavanto honti vinayavādino dubbalā honti. [op. cit. p. 285]. Seek the assistance of the translation in the Book of the Discipline by I.B.Horner.

**Academic and hierarchical leadership at the Council:**

**Mahākassapa** - President of the council.

**Upali** - Reciter of the Vinaya and Ānanda - Reciter of the Dhamma

2. *Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo saṅghaṃ ñāpesi. Suṇātu me āvuso saṅgho. Yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Upāliṃ vinayaṃ puccheyyan' ti. Āyasmā Upāli saṅghaṃ ñāpesi suṇātu me bhante saṅgho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ āyasmatā Mahākassapena vinayaṃ puṭṭho vissajjeyyan' ti.* Seek the assistance of the translation in the Book of the Discipline by I.B.Horner.

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**MCU. 000 601 Tripiṭaka studies [evolution and development of Pali Buddhist literature with relevant**

## quotations.] June 2001 - Continuation p.2

### The order in which the available Vinaya literature was handled at the Sangīti

3. *Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ etadavoca. Paṭhamaṃ āvuso Upāli pārājikaṃ kattha paññattan ' ti. Vesāliyaṃ bhante ' ti. Kaṃ ārabbhā ' ti. Sudinnaṃ Kalandaputtaṃ ārabbhā ' ti. Kismiṃ vatthusmin ' ti. Methunadhamme ' ti. Atha kho Mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ paṭhamassa pārājikassa vatthum ' pi pucchi nidānam ' pi pucchi puggalam pi pucchi paññattim ' pi pucchi anupaattim ' pi pucchi āpattim ' pi pucchi anāpattim ' pi pucchi.*

*Dutiyaṃ panāvuso Upāli pārājikaṃ kattha paññattan ' ti. Rājagahe bhante ' ti. Kam ārabbhā ' ti. Dhaniyaṃ kumbhakāraputtam ārabbhā ' ti. ... tatiyaṃ ... catutthaṃ ... uttari-manussadhamme ' ti. Seek the assistance of the translation in the Book of the Discipline by I.B.Horner.*

\* It is important to note here that at least at the time of the compilation of the report on the First Council [we would concede at least a hundred years after the event about which the report is being made, i.e. perhaps at some point of time after the Second Council], **all these details relating to the specific aspects of the legal enactments seem to have been considered important and vital in the enforcement of Vinaya discipline. Mere *sikkhāpadas* or rules would not have sufficed**

We believe that the Cullavagga records the precise manner in which the **then known Vinaya** was checked and recorded. The report could not possibly put down every item, from the beginning to the end, that was gone through. It would then amount to an almost re-recording of the entire text. Hence the report briefly [detailing in full only the four Pārājikas] sums up the entire Vinaya rehearsal, having indicated the precise manner in which it set

about the task, by saying ' **in this manner both Vinayas** were checked and gone through' - *Eten ' eva upāyena ubhato vinaye pucchi.*

4. *Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Upāliṃ catutthassa pārājikassa vatthum ' pi pucchi nidānam ' pi pucchi ... anāpattim ' pi pucchi. Eten ' eva upāyena ubhato vinaye pucchi.* [Ibid. p.287.] .Seek the assistance of the translation in the Book of the Discipline by I.B.Horner.

**B.** As for the report on the Vinaya recital, it reads as *ubhato vinaye pucchi* [Vin.II. PTS. p.287. and pre-Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā and pre-Buddha Jayanti Sinhala script texts of Sri Lanka]. However, from considerably early times, Siamese [Thai] and Myanmar [Burmese] texts seem to have carried the reading *ubhato vibhaṅge.* The Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā seems to have standardized this second reading for everybody, including Sri Lanka. [We fail to see its justification.]

contd.



## MCU. 000 601 Tripiṭaka studies [evolution and development of Pali Buddhist literature with relevant quotations.] June 2001-- Continuation p.3

Once the recital of the **Vinaya** was gone through, its complement in the Sāsana, namely the **Dhamma** which contains all the basic teachings of the Master, had to be rehearsed.

This is how the Cullavagga reports the Dhamma recital.

5. *Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo saṅghaṃ nāpesi. Suṇātu me āvuso saṅgho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Ānandaṃ dhammam puccheyyan ' ti.*



*Āyasmā Ānando saṅghaṃ ñāpesi. Suṇātu me bhante saṅgho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ āyasmatā Mahākassapena dhammaṃ puṭṭho vissajjeyyan ' ti.*

*Atha kho āyasmā Mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etadavoca. Brahmajālaṃ āvuso Ānanda kattha bhāsitan ' ti. Antarā ca bhante Rājagahaṃ antarā ca Nālandaṃ rājagārike Ambalaṭṭhikāyan ' ti. Kam ārabbhā ' ti. Suppiyañ ca paribbājakaṃ Brahmaḍattañ ca māṇavan ' ti....*  
*Atha kho āyasmā mahākassapo āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ sāmāññaphalassa nidānam ' pi pucchi puggalam ' pi pucchi. Eten ' eva upāyena **pañca nikāye** pucchi.* [loc.cit.]. Seek the assistance of the translation in the Book of the Discipline by I.B.Horner.

Here is clear evidence of what was gone through at the First Council under the category of **Dhamma**. The total of it was summed up under **pañca nikāye**. Do not fail to note here that the Dhamma recital commenced with the first sutta of the **Dīgha Nikāya** [of the Sutta Piṭaka]. According to our **oldest authentic record of the Cullavagga**, even the word **Piṭaka** does not show itself on this occasion. The **twofold Dhamma + Vinaya division** has obviously covered the entire scene.

To us, this evidence provided in the Cullavagga report [**pañcasatī**] is **both vital and indisputable**. After years of serious Pali studies, we are more than convinced that both these items of vital information [about i. the **Vinaya** and ii. the **Dhamma**] **have suffered serious distortion and misrepresentation in the hands of both eastern and western scholarship**.

While this same report of the activities of the First Council refers to the Dhamma recital as consisting of **Five Nikāyas** saying *Eten ' eva upāyena **pañca nikāye** pucchi*, some students of Buddhism still seem to speak of [or imagine about] an **earlier existence of four Nikāyas**. This too, we feel is a serious distortion and misinterpretation. The **Four Nikāya theory**, in our

opinion, resulted from the **expulsion of the Khuddaka Nikāya** from the group of five, on account of the **heterogeneity [hence unacceptability] of its contents.**

The first specific reference to Four Nikāyas, we get at a much later date in the Milindapañha [in the neighbourhood of the origin of the Christian era], p.22. It speaks of the existence at the time of monks who were Masters of the Tipiṭaka [*tepiṭakā*], Masters of the Five Nikāyas [*pañcanekāyikā*] and Masters of the Four Nikāyas [*catunekāyikā*] being in the company of Venerable Nāgasena..

The Canonical report of the activities of the First Council records no more about the literary output of that assembly.

**C.** In the 5th century A.D. i.e. nearly a thousand years after the time of the First Council, our Great Commentator Buddhaghosa finds himself in the midst of a vast ocean of Pali Buddhist literature. Handling this immense bulk which is the outcome of several centuries of literary activity, with any historical sensitivity, is a considerable challenge from many angles. Buddhist literary activity, it must be noted and admitted, has been a vibrantly live process of growth.

As far as Buddhism is concerned, we have seen this happen both within the mainstream thinking, in conformity with it, as well as outside it as deviant new trends. In addition to the Cullavagga report of the First Council, if we scan some of the major Nikāya texts, we would discover **the Buddha himself** referring to what he taught his pupils as **Dhamma** and **Vinaya** [as *Yo vo mayā Ānanda dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mamaccayena satthā* at DN. II. 154].

contd.



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Elsewhere, in offering authentic material wherewith to check his teachings, the Buddha himself refers only to **Sutta** and **Vinaya** [See *sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni* at DN. II. 124].

Viewing the **Dhamma** as **the totality of his teaching**, the Buddha sees within it **nine different literary types** [these are not necessarily individual texts as such]. This ninefold division is referred to as the *Navāṅgasatthusāsana*. [*Idha bhikkhave ekacce moghapurisā dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti* 1. *suttaṃ* 2. *geyyaṃ* 3. *veyyākaraṇaṃ* 4. *gāthaṃ* 5. udānaṃ 6. itivuttakaṃ 7. jātakaṃ 8. abbhutadhammaṃ 9. vedallaṇṇaṃ]. Parable of the Snake - Alagaddūpama Sutta - MN. I. 133.].

The above references, we believe, give us some very reliable information regarding the **nature** and **magnitude** of early Buddhist literature at the time of the passing away of the Master. Judging by the success of Gotama's mission during his life time, it is also clear that what was available **was more than adequate for the task**. It is this lot that got compiled and put together at the time of the First Council.

But both the religious enthusiasm and the intellectual dynamism of the early Buddhist disciples seem to have gone ahead unabated, even after the passing away of their great teacher. Their keenness appears to have produced, more or less, a fan-like spread out of Dhamma and Vinaya development, during the time period between the First and the Third Buddhist Councils.

We would say it was a **diversified**, and at times **differently emphasised**, **re-presentation** of the old teachings of Sakyamuni Buddha. The goal of the scheme, within the Theravāda, however hardly changed. But **in this new thinking, the systems of approach and analysis, new phraseology in interpretation and explanation have almost become unidentifiably changed**. Acquiring an **aura of newness** and **extra-religious grandeur**, these almost displaced the **old down-to-earth realism of the older Theravāda**.

By the time the Great Commentator Buddhaghosa appears on the scene in the 5th century A.D., all this new literature, together with the new traditions associated with them are seen to be holding sway in Sri Lanka. They all have to be made a part of the living religion of Buddhism, from the time of the Buddha. Every part of the tradition has to be acceptably integrated. New slots have to be provided in the old set up to accommodate new products and new ways of thinking.

We feel the best index to the study of this is to be found in Buddhaghosa's own words, in his introductions to the Dīgha Nikāya [in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī] and the Vinaya [in the Samantapāsādikā].

contd.



## **MCU. 000 601 Tripiṭaka studies [evolution and development of Pali Buddhist literature with relevant quotations.] June 2001- Continuation p.5**

We have already referred above to his [Venerable Buddhaghosa] acceptance of the Cullvagga report of the activities of the First Council as authentic, i.e. **what really was the Buddha-vacana** and **how much of it** was there at the **time of the *paṭhama-saṅgīti* or *pañcasatī***.

This, we maintain, was unalterably fixed. But the outcome of the **post-parinibbanic literary activity that continued unabated** has also to be contained and accommodated. So we discover Venerable Buddhaghosa **adding many more items to that very, very simple old list**. Even new patterns of thinking, with new stresses and emphases find their way.

At the time of his writing on Buddhism and Buddhist history, Venerable Buddhaghosa puts down a special reason for taking up first the recital of the Vinaya at the First Council. A need for the defence of this stand was perhaps not even felt at the time of the event, particularly in view of what Subhadda is supposed to have said. But in the introduction to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, he gets the monks at the assembly to say that 'Vinaya is the very life essence of the Sāsana, and that as long as it is safeguarded the Sāsana would be safeguarded' [*Bhante Mahākassapa vinayo nāma Buddhasāsanassa āyu. Vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ ṭhitaṃ hoti. Tasmā paṭhamaṃ vinayaṃ saṅgāyāmā 'ti. DA. I. 11*].

On the other hand, we have to note in passing that the **Dīpavamsa**, the older of the two island Chronicles of Sri Lanka, [the other being the *Mahāvamsa*] **pays equal respect to the totality of the First Council activities - *saṅgahaṃ na vinassati***. At Ch. IV. v.17. it says:

*Yāva tiṭṭhanti saddhammā saṅgahaṃ na vinassati  
tāvata sāsanaaddhānaṃ ciraṃ tiṭṭhati satthuno.*

The **Mahāvamsa** is even more brief in its report of the activities of the First Council. It just says that Upali Thera recited the Vinaya and Ānanda Thera recited the Dhamma and refers to the total recital as a **Recital of the Dhamma - *Evaṃ sattahi māsehi dhamma-saṅgīti niṭṭhitā***. Mhv. Ch. III. v. 37.

It is about this same time that we meet Venerable Buddhaghosa, who is presented with the formidable task not only of handling [re-translating into Pāli] the commentaries to the early Buddhist texts, but also of writing a **complete**

history of Pali Buddhist literature, covering its origin, evolution and development. Although we have constantly stressed that **the time of the First Council** or the *pañcasālī saṅgīti* knew only of a recital of **Dhamma** and **Vinaya**, there is evidence to believe that **by the time of the Third Council**, all the seven works of the Abhidhamma had taken their stand as a distinct division of Buddhist teachings, **besides the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Tipiṭaka had been formulated and established.** We discover the **Milindapañha** [PTS. p.22] referring to this threefold division as Tipiṭaka, for it refers to a class of monks versed in these categories as *tepiṭakā bhikkhū*.

contd.



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By now, the Tipiṭaka, i.e. Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma has come to be collectively held as the **Buddhavacana** [= word of the Buddha]. Therefore every one of these, in their origin, **has to be traced back to the Buddha himself.** But we have seen that our early Pali records **bear an unquestionable silence with regard to the genesis of what is offered to us as the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.** Let alone authorship, **even its very existence as a distinct division of Buddhist literature is unknown.**

We have already noted above that by the time of the **Milindapañha** [i.e. the beginning of the Christian era] the **Abhidhamma had come to be recognised as a Piṭaka on its own right** [with the use of the words *tepiṭakā bhikkhū*]. Therefore it had also to be taught by the Buddha himself. Further, as in the case of other teachings of the Buddha, in the Suttas and the Vinaya, specific points of time and

place for the teaching of the Abhidhamma had also to be eagerly sought and established.

The Mahāyānists of a much later date [later than the early Pali literature] ingeniously ascribe their sutras to the Buddha himself. And in view of the fact of chronology, they also assert that these teachings and their texts had to be safely stored away, only to be taken out much later when the world was ready for them. On a pattern not very different to this, Venerable Buddhaghosa is seen locating the venue of the Buddha's Abhidhamma preaching in the heavenly world. The audience to whom it is preached, according to Buddhaghosa, also turns out to be celestial beings, with the Buddha's own mother as the special guest of honour. Both these, the venue and the audience together, we believe, tend to escalate the prestige of the Abhidhamma teachings.

Note how the Atthasālinī, the Commentary to the Dhammasaṅgaṇī [the first Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka] introduces the subject.

5. ***Mātaraṃ pamukhaṃ katvā tassā paññāya tejasā  
Abhidhammakathāmaggaṃ devānaṃ sampavattayi.***

.....

9. Yaṃ devadevo devānaṃ desetvāna yato puna  
Therassa Sāriputtassa samācikkhi vināyako.

10. Anotattadahe katvā upaṭṭhānaṃ mahesino  
yañ ca sutvāna so thero āharitvā mahītaṃ

11. Bhikkhūnaṃ payirudābhāsi iti bhikkhūhi dhārito  
saṅgītikāle saṅgīto Vedehamuninā puna. DhsA. p.1

contd.



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Locating the preaching of the Abhidhamma in this manner, place wise and time wise, Venerable Buddhaghosa enjoys considerable freedom. There is no clash or conflict for any reason. He is working on a completely blank sheet. No other reports of any sort exist anywhere.

On the other hand, it is much more difficult fitting this event of Abhidhamma preaching within the already established frame of Buddhist literary activity. We have already clearly indicated **the earlier perimeter of the Dhamma + Vinaya recital of the First Council**. The description given and the words used in the Cullavagga report on this are precise enough not to allow any smuggling in. Its Canonical authority is unquestionably accepted. But the attempt to smuggle in the Abhidhamma recital into the First Council [*pañcasatī saṅgīti*] through this Cullavagga report is, in our opinion, no more than wishful thinking. But it is inevitable and ingenious.

According to Venerable Buddhaghosa, the above referred to Cullavagga report undergoes much reshuffling and much expanding in the hands of Venerable Mahākassapa. As we are now interested in the inclusion and incorporation of the Abhidhamma as an integral part of early Buddhist teachings, we will here leave out the references to the Vinaya literature. We have no need of it.

After the recital of the Vinaya by Venerable Upali, Venerable Mahākassapa [DA. I. p.14] turns to the bhikkhus and puts to them a question ' **as to which**



**Piṭaka they should recite first** ' which immediately implies the existence of more than one Piṭaka besides the Vinaya [*Atha kho āyasmā mahākaṣṣo bhikkhū pucchi kataraṃ āvuso piṭakaṃ paṭhamaṃ saṅgāyāma ' ti.*]. This goes on the assumption of the existence, **at the time of Buddhaghosa**, of two different collections as **Sutta** and **Abhidhamma**, side by side. Note that **this stands in marked contrast to our earlier Cullavagga report** which speaks of the entire Buddhist teachings, at the time of the First Council, only as **Dhamma** and **Vinaya**.

The choice falls on the Suttanta Piṭaka. Before we proceed to examine the observations of Venerable Buddhaghosa on this subject, let us remind ourselves of what is said about this event in the Cullavagga report. It briefly sums up saying *eten ' eva upāyena pañca nikāye pucchi.* [= in this manner, the **Five Nikāyas** were questioned and gone through. Vin. II. 287].

Here is Venerable Buddhaghosa in his introduction to the Dīgha Nikāya Commentary. [See DA. I. p.14 f.] He tells us that the Suttanta Piṭaka has Four Recitals [= *Suttanta-Piṭake catasso saṅgītiyo.*]. Buddhaghosa is seen here compelled to re-classify the then-known Buddhist literature of olden times, in terms of new developments.

contd.



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- i. Out of the old Dhamma content of **Five Nikayas** of the Cullavagga, Buddhaghosa makes a new Piṭaka of **Four Recitals** and names it as **Suttanta Piṭaka** [*Suttanta-Piṭake catasso saṅgītiyo.*]. In this fourfold

collection are contained the **Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta** and **Anguttara [Nikāyas]**.

- ii. After the recital of these four texts [Buddhaghosa's **Suttanta Piṭaka**], Buddhaghosa **makes a new addition to the First Council recital**, namely the **recital of the seven books of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka**. [Never heard of before in the Cullavagga report].

Note Buddhaghosa's presentation at [loc. cit. \$. 41.]. *Tato anantaram Dhammasaṅgaṇi Vibhaṅgañ ca Kathāvatthu ca Puggalaṃ Dhātu - Yamaka - Paṭṭhānaṃ Abhidhammo ' ti vuccatī ' ti. evaṃ samvaṇṇitaṃ sukhuma-ñāṇa-gocaraṃ tantim saṅgāyitvā idaṃ Abhidhamma-Piṭakaṃ nāmā ' ti vatvā pañca-arahanta-satāni sajjhāyaṃ akamsu. Vuttanayen ' eva paṭhavi-kampo ahosi.*

\* This description of Buddhaghosa of the **manner of recital of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka at the First Council** stands in marked contrast to those given in the Cullavagga report about the Dhamma + Vinaya recitals at the same Council. It is a very vague summary recital - no more than a collective chanting.

- iii. Buddhaghosa now [\$. 42] takes up for recital the **fifth nikāya** of the earlier Cullavagga list [i.e. Khuddaka Nikāya of 12 separate texts] and gives it the strange name **Khuddaka-gantha** [a small collection of books or a collection of small books?].

*Tato param 1. Jātakaṃ 2. Mahāniddeśo 3. Cūlaniddeśo 4. Paṭisambhidāmaggo 5. Suttanipāto 6. Dhammapadam 7. Udānaṃ 8. Itivuttakaṃ 9. Vimānavatthu 10. Petavatthu 11. Theragāthā 12. Therīgāthā ' ti imaṃ tantim saṅgāyitvā Khuddakagantho nāma ayan ' ti ca vatvā Abhidhammapiṭakasmim yeva saṃgahaṃ āropayimsū ' ti Dīgha-Bhāṇakā vadanti. Majjhima-Bhāṇakā pana 13. Cariyāpiṭaka 14. Apadāna 15. Buddhavamsehi saddhim sabbam pi tam Khuddakagantham Suttanta-piṭake pariyāpannan ' ti vadanti.*

The **Dīgha-Bhāṇakā** maintain that this collection [of twelve different books]

was deposited in the Abhidhamma Piṭaka [because of **one time expulsion from the Sutta Piṭaka**] under the name **Khuddakagantha**. The **Majjhima-Bhāṇakā** add further to this list **Cariyāpiṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavamsa** and maintain that the collection belongs to the Suttanta Piṭaka.

contd.



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At this point, it is worth taking note of what we have already referred to above as the '**expulsion of the Khuddaka Nikāya**' from the Sutta collection. The first clear signal about this is Buddhaghosa's remark *Suttana-piṭake catasso sarigitiyo*. This takes the **fifth nikāya** out of the Sutta collection and **in its place provides a valuable slot for the accomodation of the newly generated Abhidhamma collection of seven books**. In this **literary re-arrangement of Buddhaghosa**, the four nikāyas alone [of the **earlier five nikāyas**] constitute the Sutta Piṭaka. The seven Abhidhamma books recited immediately thereafter constitute the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

The apparent change of name of this ousted **fifth nikāya**, i.e. the **Khuddaka** [ousted from the Sutta Piṭaka] to read as **Khuddakagantho**, deprived of its **nikāya status**, implies a clear loss of status for that collection. The **Dīgha-bhāṇaka** unwillingness even to contain it within the Sutta Piṭaka also reflects this. The heterogeneity of its contents which kept on adding in course of time would also have contributed considerably towards this. Note the **Dīgha-bhāṇaka** non-acceptance of the three books **Cariyāpiṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavamsa**.

All the above references of Venerable Buddhaghosa are to the activities of the First Council, **adjusting the older reports of the Cullvagga**, to adequately meet the new situations like the **emergence of a comprehensive Abhidhamma literature in course of time**, and the **expulsion of the fifth nikāya from the Sutta Piṭaka** [which had already taken place by the beginning of the Christian era. See Milindapañha PTS. p. 22].

Venerable Buddhaghosa also presents to us thereafter a wealth of information about **Pali Buddhist religious literature** which was vibrantly **pervading the country during his time**. Many new traditions, arising out of new situations and new developments, sometimes **even deviant from the mainstream thinking**, were visibly in the air.

Of these, two are of special interest to us.

- i. That the **entire teaching of the Buddha is threefold** in terms *piṭakas* [*Evam etaṃ sabbam 'pi Buddhavacanaṃ ... paṭhama-majjhima-pacchimavasena tividhaṃ tathā piṭakavasena*. DA. I. p. 15. §. 43]. We have already discussed the gradual and natural evolution of the *Buddha-vacana* into the present threefold **Piṭaka** division of Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma.
- ii. That the **entire teaching of the Buddha** can also be divided into **five different categories** under the name of *nikāya*. [*Evam etaṃ sabbam 'pi Buddhavacanaṃ ...nikāyavasena pañcavidhaṃ*. loc.cit.] On the other hand, if we turn back and take a look at our earlier Cullavagga report, we find that the *pañca-nikāya* division is exclusively used for the division of the Sutta Piṭaka [to cover what was then called the Dhamma as against the Vinaya.].

contd.



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This **new fivefold division** theory [of the entire Buddhavaṇṇa] makes it possible to smuggle in the Abhidhamma into the recital at the First Council [*pañcasatī*], within the ill-defined Khuddaka Nikāya. To make it possible, the new Nikāya has to be stretched out of shape to include within it the Vinaya Piṭaka too. This indeed is an attempt to meet new situations, **of a need to bestow Canonical antiquity upon the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, even pushing it as far back as the First Council.**

This is the **new definition of the Khuddaka Nikāya**, in the new **fivefold division of the entire Buddha-vaṇṇa**, which Venerable Buddhaghosa records for us.

Katamo Khuddaka-nikāyo? Sakalaṃ Vinaya-piṭakaṃ Abhidhamma-piṭakaṃ Khuddakapāṭhādayo ca pubbe-nidassita-pañcadasa-bhedā ṭhapetvā cattāro nikāye avasesaṃ Buddha-vaṇṇaṃ. [ibid. p. 23]

\* Note. But writing about the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka in the **threefold division** on the **Piṭaka basis** [DA. I. p. 17. § 47] Venerable Buddhaghosa gives us a less accommodating definition of the Khuddaka Nikāya **as consisting only of fifteen different texts of the Sutta Piṭaka.**[Referred to above as 12 + 3], **neither containing the Vinaya nor the Abhidhamma.**

Note the following at DA. I. p. 16. § 47 f. Here Venerable Buddhaghosa speaks in an entirely different idiom.

Note even his Vinaya description which is, more or less, comprehensively accommodating, including what was recited and even not recited [like *Ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni* and *SoḶasa Parivāra*] at the First Council.

*Kathaṃ piṭaka-vaseba tividham? Sabbam ' pi etaṃ Vinaya-piṭakaṃ Sutta-*

*piṭakaṃ Abhidhamma-piṭakan ' ti ti-ppabhedam eva hoti. Tattha **paṭhama-saṅgītiyam saṅgītañ ca asaṅgītañ ca sabbam ' pi samodhānetvā Ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni Dve Vibhaṅgāni Dvāvīsati Khandhakā SoĀsa Parivārā ' ti idaṃ Vinaya Piṭakaṃ nāma.***

contd.



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*Brahmajālādi catutiṃsa-suttanta saṅgaho Dīghanikāyo .. Majjhimanikāyo .. Samyuttanikāyo ... Aṅguttranikāyo*

*1. Khuddakapāṭha 2. Dhammapada 3. Udāna 4. Itivuttaka 5. Suttanipāta 6. Vimānavatthu 7. Petavatthu 8. Theragāthā 9. Therīgāthā 10. Jātaka 11. Niddesa 12.. Paṭisambhidā 13. Apadāna 14. Buddhavaṃsa 15 . Cariyāpiṭaka vasena **pannarasabhedo Khuddaka-nikāyo ' ti idaṃ Suttanta-piṭakaṃ nāma.***

\* In this process of **re-classifying** and **re-defining** the **available Pali Buddhist literature of his time**, Venerable Buddhaghosa offers us yet another valuable bit of information with regard to the identity of what was referred to in early Buddhist literature as the **Navāṅga-satthu-sāsana**. We have already indicated that this early ninefold list primarily indicated the **different literary types** [prose and verse etc.] that existed within the corpus of early Buddhist Pali literature [**dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti suttam geyyam** ...MN. I. p. 133].

Here is his identification of these different literary types with specific items of Buddhist literature in the Canon. [See DA. I. p. 23f.].

*Tattha Ubhato Vibhaṅga - Niddesa - Khandhaka - Parivāra - Suttanipāte Maṅgalasutta - Ratanasutta - Nālakasutta - Tuvaṭakasuttāni aññam ' pi ca suttanākaṃ Tathāgata-vacanaṃ **Suttan** ' ti veditabbaṃ.*

*Sabbam ' pi sagāthakaṃ suttaṃ **Geyyan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Visesena Samyuttake sakalo ' pi sagāthakavaggo. Sakalaṃ Abhidhammapiṭakaṃ niggāthaka-suttaṃ yañ ca aññam ' pi aṭṭhahi aṅgehi asamgahitaṃ Buddha-vacanaṃ taṃ **Veyyākaraṇan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Dhammapadaṃ Theragāthā Therīgāthā Suttanipāte no suttanāmikā suddhikagāthā ca **Gāthā** ' ti veditabbā.*

*Somanassa-nāṇamayika-gāthā-paṭisamyuttā dve asīti-suttantā **Udānan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Vuttaṃ h' etaṃ bhagavatā ' ti ādinayappavattā dasuttarasataṃ suttantā **Itivuttakan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Apaṇṇaka-jātakādīni paññāsādhikāni pañca-jātaka-satāni **Jātakan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Cattāro ' me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande ' ti ādinayappavattā sabbe ' pi acchariyabbhuta-dhamma-paṭisamyuttā suttantā **Abbhutadhamman** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Cullavedalla-Mahāvedalla-Sammādiṭṭhi-Sakkapañha- Saṅkhārabhājanīya-Mahāpuṇṇama-suttantādayo sabbe ' pi vedañ ca tuṭṭhiñ ca laddhāladdhā pucchita-suttantā **Vedallan** ' ti veditabbaṃ. Evaṃ aṅgavasena navavidhaṃ.*

Concluded.